fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648 ●

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

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[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941a, p. 19.

175 the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects
177 that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean
649 republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

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[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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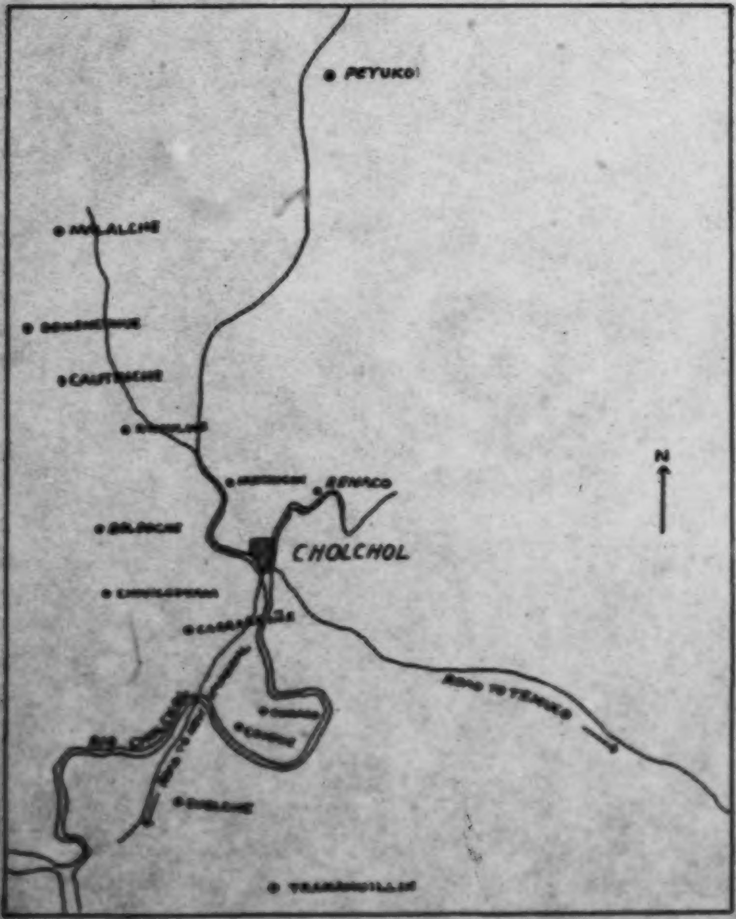

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. 175
Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, 646
some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

175 strated that Indians and Chileans could learn to live peacefully
648 together.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Araucanians continued to be on their guard and to oppose any large scale encroachment from the direction of the country's capital on their north, but during the administrations of President Manuel Montt (1851–1861), they found themselves cut off at the south by the arrival of German and other European immigrants who came by sea to establish settlements that extended out from Valdivia. Thereafter, relatively peaceful penetrations from north and south succeeded, where frontal assaults had failed, in opening parts of Araucanía to white settlement. To encourage this movement, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from losing their land, the government passed a law in 1866 that provided for the establishment of large reservations or reductions, which could not be alienated from the native occupants. Whatever parts of the area were left unassigned, however, were sold on easy terms to colonists. Unfortunately, as the region was unsurveyed and unmapped, no definite boundaries could be set up, and since the filing of legal titles was not always required, the matter of land ownership in the Frontera soon became subject to utter confusion and endless bickering.

It must not be thought that the Araucanians, with their long tradition of fighting in defense of their territory, made no protest against the new invasion of their homeland. They revolted violently in 1868–70; and, when Chile became embroiled with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific (1879–83), they took advantage of the absence of troops in their area to stage a major uprising that continued from 1880 to 1882. This turned out to be their last major effort to regain their lost independence. As soon as Chile began to feel assured of victory in the War of the Pacific, she sent her seasoned soldiers to the Frontera, with the result that by 1884 the Araucanians were thoroughly defeated and pacified.[7]

[7] Galdames, 1941, p. 337. Dr. Lothrop said that in Latcham's opinion the use of modern weapons was a decisive factor in the final defeat of the Araucanians.

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PACIFICATION AND THE RESERVATION SYSTEM, 1884–1917

When the government of Chile, in the year following the victorious termination of the War of the Pacific, succeeded in pacifying the Araucanians, it took the stand that the Mapuche deserved to be punished for their disloyalty in revolting while the country was at war. Accordingly, it was decreed that the titles to their tribal reservations were to be cancelled, and their holdings were declared state property.[8] The Indians were permitted to remain on the reservations previously set aside for them, but all of Araucanía was politically subdivided to form several of the present provinces including Bío Bío, Malleco, and Cautín. In fact, it was upon the establishment of the last-named province in 1887 that "the whole of the Frontera was incorporated in the organized national domain,"[9] and to all intents and purposes the Araucanians thereafter became an ethnic minority group of Chilean citizens living within the borders of the republic. New towns and cities sprang up all about them, lines of communication crossed and recrossed their former territory, roads and railroads were built throughout the region, and within a short time every section of the Frontera was penetrated as increasing numbers of colonists laid claim to the unreserved portions of the area.

In this way the Araucanians, soon after their pacification in 1884, came to be confronted with a major problem of cultural readjustment. Whereas they had once been accustomed to wide stretches of free land, they were now hemmed in on fixed reservations; where they had developed a way of life that was successfully adapted to the conduct of long-drawn out wars, they were now forced to modify their customs to suit the conditions of lasting peace. It is the study of this aspect of cultural dynamics that provides one of the central themes of the present monograph.

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[8] [illegible], 1939, p. 282. This move may well have been influenced by the need of finding new economic outlets for veterans who were returning from four years of service in the army.

[9] McBride, 1936, p. 296.

THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1917

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Toltén the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1930 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.

[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued 175
partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat 648
pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old
asked only that the government should give them adequate 421
legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

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present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly
feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained
more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was
fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices
648 into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

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[177] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *loñko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were 423
used, and these were generally shared by several members of a 648
kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted 551
titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further 553
identification, government workers urged the Indians to
adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians
promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many
assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were
working among them, some added Spanish given names to their
native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment 423
system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of
time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants
may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation
of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, [161]
when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in
1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four
persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original
tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small 423
parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of 425
them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in
such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree
while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity
of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend
their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become
available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a
source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled
individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or
liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work 166
in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired
themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

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[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By Donald D. Brand

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once 101 spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, 197 growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit.

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 175 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central 648 Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his 114 *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Span- 175 ish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 648 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century).

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement 175 of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by trium- 648 phant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bio-Bio—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bio-Bio. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826.

113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANCILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

**Richard Edward LATCHAM* CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

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After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians—in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted 175
in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the 648
revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of
Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío
along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-
83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and
Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitu-
lation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who
(1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity
for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-
87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were estab-
lished along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt;
new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in
1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the
organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This
ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and
Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this
period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of
initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859,
1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, 164
measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at 165
their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became some-
what stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon live- 421
stock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) func-
tioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of com-
munication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian
population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the 161
past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting.
National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865,
1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of
1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made [114]
any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895.
Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between
20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of
1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucan-
ians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past
20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "some-
what more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000
(Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carl-
son: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details
of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was in-
formed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000
Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

BY R. E. LATCHAM,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[WITH PLATES XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] THE Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[231] 241 325 [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

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[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the
exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the
present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite
colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or
vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llancas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken orgies, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601
621 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 648 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory between these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the 175 Imperial Rivers. 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A 175 great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in 648 White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting 144 forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the 175 *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge 648 and new weapons with deadly effect.

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the mis- 175 sionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* 648 from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the 797 Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*.

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* ? culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial 175 and even to the Gulf of Reloncaví, remained fairly intact until well 648 toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones.

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

175 698 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,106).

The major phase of the Araucanian diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Furlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Rosas and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

114 By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cunco*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Picunche*

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

642 of conquest ancient localism clashed with incipient nationalism. This conflict 631 produced a political ambivalence which in itself contributed heavily to the cause of Araucanian independence. Centralization of politico-military authority was achieved to a point where successful resistance was possible, but did not develop to a stage where the Spaniards could defeat and usurp it.

669 The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed "*el estado.*" This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to imbue the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's image of "*el estado indómito*" was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

● 648 It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of seeking transient familial and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he recrossed the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders voiced a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the caciques of the estado had to reform alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

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[29] Olivares, p. 20. The area included the Indian localities of Talcamávida, [illegible], Catiray, Marigüeñu, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In essence, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or merely one of them.

[30] Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (5 vols., Santiago, 1910). Historians and anthropologists seem to be under a strange compulsion to use this poem as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in select instances the practice is not warranted, but the wide use to which it has been put must certainly be held in question. Everyone knows that there is much truth in it, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it resides.

[31] Marmolejo, pp. 22-23. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were introduced to cooperative military effort on a large scale through attempted invasions by the Incas. This seems most unlikely because the Incas were held at the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the warlike Promaucaes, who were not Araucanians. Nor could the Inca invasions have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the imposition of Spanish dominion, without which it could have had no meaning.

[32] *Idem*, pp. 41-42.

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negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his 648
own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of [702]
pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the 186
estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncom- 702
monly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior [727]
were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring 184
to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, 648
for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. 578
While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed suzerainty over all of 631
the allaregues from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective sovereignty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

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[33] *Idem*, pp. 105, 131.

[34] Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

[35] Olaverría, p. 23.

[36] Marmolejo, pp. 126-127.

[37] *Idem*, p. 85. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 258, 279); "Informe de Juan de [illegible]" (*idem*, pp. 241-243; Nájera, p. 60). Through use of terror the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought dissension and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 31-38).

[38] Marmolejo, pp. 110-111.

[39] Olaverría, p. 22.

804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepùe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepùe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visiting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversa- 548 tion were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepùe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

(600) ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible.
177 The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for
627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of
his choice, known as loŋko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has
been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the
621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries
of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group
of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Inigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Manelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 657 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

423 a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of
241 these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get per-
131 mission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of
423 land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have
648 been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kurpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 65) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschitz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pails of the 222

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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manfana from *manzana* (apple); *fanterra* from *bandera* (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: *lacar* (lake, Lacar), *neuquén* (territory, Neuquén), and *patagonia*; also *chiripa*, *chilipa*, and *chilipan*, all three meaning pants. *La pampa* is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade. 197

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lobche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrileura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only bolesdoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrileura. Katrileura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrileura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and 646 [illegible]

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She imitated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

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Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as ñuke; his brother and sister each as piñe; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as *ʃot'em*, and his daughter as ñawe; a woman speaks of both as peñeñ.

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The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Sailen, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order
in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the
parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If
a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could
order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche.
622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing
628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it
was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen
thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under
one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened
the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the
people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen
thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding
726 battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had
lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as
a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each
[411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads
[823] were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The
white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers
noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts,
they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not
pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned,
a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable
people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the
flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks
on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack
648 on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately
726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then.
The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned
to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes
on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our
people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the
622 Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it.
From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers
648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers
did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the
White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules
then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew
the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was 622 apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to 648 conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique.

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became 622 cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Caruhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painiival, Kalfükura, Catriel, Cheoeque, Paillamil, and Cañuilef.

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, *5*); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, *a*). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Araucanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone so big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kaiupan examined the toki shown in plate 74, *5*, seemed puzzled, and remarked, 641 648 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Civica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 423 484 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common. When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

10: Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648 explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, 1, 2). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 30 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some along, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martín de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stony and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648 tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427 cacique. Manuel Pañafilén, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, 1), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221 sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233 is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from 114 earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The con- 121 cept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis 121 rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aborigi- [122] nal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Span- 175 ish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that 177 the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the [648] continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little- 121 known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial 177 Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were 648 one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being esti- [161] mated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural [177] base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. [121] This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

177 South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche 121
(Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I [114]
lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled 177
for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which 642
have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society, 121

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean [177]
society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement [248]
on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the [128]
most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more [3]
than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central [6]
Chile known as the Frontera or Araucania (see Map I). Well over [162]
half of these Indians are settled in Cautin and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which [101]

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[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Cresatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,000 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,868.28 hectares. Approximately 1,300 of these reservations are in Cautin Province and occupy more than 290,000 hectares.

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[illegible] are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains,
[346] especially along the southern border of Cautin Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

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132 The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautin Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

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161 The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucania, it is also in this region that the greatest
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648 displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

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361 Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the
C capital of Cautin Province and the largest commercial and industrial
361 center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

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[491] The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

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Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

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Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

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HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[3]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1598, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

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[3] Results of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a combination of the systems of encomienda, mita, reducción, and congregación, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:239-307.

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648 tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on
175 Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines,
[167] several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche
migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained
A until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence
was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group
[166] level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized
[821] by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings,
and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest
A in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new
648 government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche
175 from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed
C to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government
563 decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of
175 speculators with an eye to settling Araucania with resident farmers
and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas.
It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon
their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on
the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government
desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians.
In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche
relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come
A to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class.
[166] Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout
[167] Araucania and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

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[167] By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received
A a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their
[121] territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of
guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization
through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866,
which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation
land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual
abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was
to be sold to settlers.

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[3] See Cooper, 1946:690 et passim; Canals Frau, 1946:761-66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

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A [161]
[167]

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

A [161]
A [186]
C [186]

2

The Agrarian Setting

A 177 Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A 241 [illegible] A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

A 148 166 With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucania. In 1891 the central rail-

A 131

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[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautin Province A 648
had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Government C
agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de* [266]
Tierras y Colonización, along with a number of private companies
and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautin
Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both
through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The C
result has been that the farmlands of Cautin Province are today [311]
carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small A
holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so [131]
that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many
of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms
through *latifundismo*. C

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved 311
and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed
than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos*
where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization,
thus *funderos* bring marginal land under cultivation in much the
same way *parceleros* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections C
are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with [185]
little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parcelero* C
or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total 241
cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted
mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain
being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops
such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city,
leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on A
the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed C
of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem- [364]

ventory of *chacareria* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by 241 Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for [439] sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacareria* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato 731 blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of 244 [262] great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have [243] been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every 243 407 Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when [427] provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an [248] Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by [427] *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery 243 among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipement usually clears 407 433 a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an [197] individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price [427] seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the 231
Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold [492]
for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least [262]
one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used [782]
as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in 262
greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are
also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important
both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not
eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are 231
certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before [554]
cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed [262]
only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing
rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because
they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered,
reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They
are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and
are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect.
They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said
to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure 233
and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow [731]
fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for
the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone.
Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally [232]
effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently
mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals [231]
will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly
common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In 311
terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand
to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by
reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being
surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land [648]
they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation
acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since [167]
the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing
population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and
women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to 423
land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the 621
entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered [622]
members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took 648
into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) 423
the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation
status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recog- [622]
nized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and 311
realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many 423
reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domi-
ciliary arrangements – in effect, different social and economic struc- [622]
tures – there was some land on all reservations which the residents

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[2] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) *now stand* at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are ~~not~~ hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [823]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and 311
large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche 648
lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly de- 423
veloped on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate [233]
as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land
by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-62 for [427]
a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout
the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about [233]
five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned 311
and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llanca-
man and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided [133]
among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise
improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland [314]
is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, [622]
with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there [242]
is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

311 [240] the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan [241] than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, [833] and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

311 Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely 731 the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what 244 I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most 439 of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a [114] total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was ● [648] received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently [789] that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a pro-649 posed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos 311 for all Mapuche in Araucania (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help – that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. 871 Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

311 For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult 311
Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of
land.* Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so- 423
and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the
latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by
not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell
their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support 622
their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although
it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from
the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully
with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently
become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings 423
in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since
the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over
their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation
land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a [248]
section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded [563]
ocupante status by the Chilean government, which carries the right
to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential
ocupantes on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of
división will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have
improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number 162
of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however,
11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*.
In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total [592]
number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is [591]
eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation [423]
of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite
high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," 241
there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly [133]
precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills.
However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of
the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding
oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year.
Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

476 [613] [608] [591] [592] [628]

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

464 241 [178] [465] [556] [156]

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *torreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually [648]

464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
391 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur
[548] are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany
the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural
districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that
make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the
wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more
favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as
they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant
expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch
the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the
thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a
single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[409] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed
carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive
the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these
carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the
carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing
[476] time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since
a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately
after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of
grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to
a meal after his work is finished.

[409] Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside
the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a
trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the
owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians
assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family
[461] itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher.
After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha*
or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

423
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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[248] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

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[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[014] [162] [361] [2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,100 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially pernicious. 432 Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, [433]
when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available 452
to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche 648 desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [627]
to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *titulo de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622]
by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

453 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [107] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [248] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. 427 433 The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

429 Land Rental

[593] Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 428 431 433 [784] It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. [592] [675] The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to 427
whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the 648
reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might 423
obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete
surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this rea- [154]
son it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant 427
farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean 648
conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "land- [554]
lord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand.
As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their trans- [692]
action on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom
they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical [691]
framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: 427
those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well- [556]
to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural 429 rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not ●648 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively har- [186] monious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong [621] among the membership.

The Mediero or Sharecropping System

429 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a 496 further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without 427 the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of [589] the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which 648 brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless 427 the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals [333] on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other [314] extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered 311 that this reservation contains a total of 515 hectares, almost all 427

311 427 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 [162] Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from ● [248] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally [241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 433 [183] These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipement) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 233 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 311 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half- 427
share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as [311]
against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two
absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chile- [248]
ans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was 433
the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals 427
is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of 311
more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and 233
large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing through- 427
out the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents
of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly 433
in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all [311]
animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven
families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op- [248]

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427

433 erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals
648 involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200
311 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all
the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is
covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being
311 cut down.

427 Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents
[648] and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

433 There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people
have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals.
The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not
[031] suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects
[241] of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering
for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

427 On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to
433 animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One
233 hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

[177] We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche
[121] economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in 613
stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity 179
of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). 114 61
There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. 177 Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (305). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common [182] pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche [621] were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. 177 613 This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general [248] resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions [423] of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong 613
chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact 613
recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several 621
households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along 595
with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three 592
wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement.

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of 613
their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. 621
There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[1] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This
movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans [148]
and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained.

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves 613
to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original 621
occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was 361
made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

[1] [See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had
not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of
Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment
of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
169 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved
away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and
in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration
of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming
increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to
leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

624 Appendix A2 gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of
the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today,
there are 26 households with a population of 135. The concensus is
that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems
low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance
of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the
total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing
primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but
also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend
to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the
other two. José (X) is the titular chief* of the reservation and has
within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There
has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of
Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B.
As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

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* Chieftainship commonly passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--Analyst]

a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in 613
the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, [622]
is less than in the extrareservational sphere. [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted.
Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they
will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married
and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another
reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by
his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is
not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the
reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for
many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an
influential member of an indigenous political party which is in oppo- [665]
sition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to 613
implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the 578
sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence
of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical
situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across
even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic coop-
eration between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition
which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the re-
spective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and
curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and counter-
charges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were [754]
called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and [692]
farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupport- 178
able in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often 613
resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal [578]
group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjust-
ment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the [622]
chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since
his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than
now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation [681]
had become significant for the local group, banishment would have
amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and
children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several fami-
lies and all those additional families which had sided with them.
Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some
sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the [622]

the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings. 613

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which 613 621 178 [648]

613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous
648 zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the in-
habitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military
context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as
chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebel-
lion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group
was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not
occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred
in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental
in establishing multikinship communities which had their founda-
tion in the war years — the very thing the reservation system was
designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment
of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any
reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small
groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these
obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered
land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these
remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation
community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant
lineages are dominant in at least two senses — size and power. The
way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by refer-
ring to Diagram I.[1] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone
significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original
title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their
advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politi-
cally dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the
crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least
[167] in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[1] [See Cat. 116, p. 93--Analyst]

5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-à-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it impinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

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[622] [128] [182] [1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*ñillatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 621 and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648 under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [692] backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175 Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648 of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642] military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701] were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642] authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

175
648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

642
[114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> [643]
> [613]
> [622] Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

> Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually 642
> made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house [701]
> or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and
> by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and
> status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads
> and "chiefs" – which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political
> structure [725].
>
> In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, [622]
> a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority
> accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime
> political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization.
> But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact
> [726].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

> The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, [627]
> homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the
> offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority [622]
> to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were
> punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more
> commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to,
> with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, 692
serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean [648]
institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go
to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and
torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions
deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most [683]
important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which
the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, [681]
ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not
all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore,
the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying
traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But
matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being [648]
dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse
to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new 175
national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche 648
stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican 473
government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

175 648 413 colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. [66] Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

195 648 166 [169] The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" [622] clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was [622] broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[3] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the [668] symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

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[3] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

175 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that
a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics
692 and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been
brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdele-
gation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices.
In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,-
000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the
Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties,
through which they express themselves on the national scene.

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian 648
affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other 692
cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in
regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically,
the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing
before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled
to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government [131]
administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of
Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the 175
course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 648
1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. [131]
It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the
Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been [167]
routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement 175
as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward 648
to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were 166
brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested,
virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the
Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general
historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression
of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two
decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example,
it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew
him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in
some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility
is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for [621]
it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian
will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which
he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned
in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations [423]
was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm
colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the
establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier,
the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. 175
Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until 648
as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost [423]
thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [621]

175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing
648 significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[901] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military
powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[901] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
623 423 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community 178
were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to es- 622
tablish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may 423
move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within [578]
reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not
leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights
and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, indi- [592]
viduals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain
measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is al-
ready claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrange- [613]
ment to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage)
in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one
of the members who might want to establish a household of his own.
The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. [621]
Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an
ad hoc basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the [578]
population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer re-
solvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population 178
is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief re- 622
ceives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and 648 ●
generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority 423
is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the
extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other
hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of deal-
ing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency
of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, [692]
since the development of a larger and more efficient police force
in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part
of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of
residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning
the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or
more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in
their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully
aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally
bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity
by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the postreservation
chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but
increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase,
however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's
power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were established
622 on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control
over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara
is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was
already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[199] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded
more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting
rather than describing a common situation. It is true that
in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence.
178 Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal
622 agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
[823] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence
that such developments took place on any appreciable scale
until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments
were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations;
they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was
correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development
alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in
which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the
area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the 178
loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain 622
extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where
división is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reserva-
tion population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic [476]
sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a
larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood [423]
and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes
to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permis-
sion has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave [623]
of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokes-
man and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recog-
nized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's
opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social 178
structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. 621
Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of pre- 622
reservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, 648
sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposi-
tion of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come
about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved,
and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and
above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was
a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a
small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the
Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social align-
ment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of
dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives.
This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organiza- [701]
tion, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure charac-
terized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's [642]
reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities
which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially
autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all 621
reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with 648
individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is 692
made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

621 the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship
648 with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This
[692] holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

621 On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the
628 Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through
648 Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is
[671] Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

178 It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reserva-
622 tion system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer
648 the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress – for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed – when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views – essentially on whether or not he stands for *división* – he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership. 622

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities – a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 – the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf. 178 622

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It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in

179 622 643 their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship [664 666] correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

664 There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

[799] *Unión Araucana* is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their twofold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibiran Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, si, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibiran su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así sera.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaria los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaria Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being
[613] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young
and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which
624 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the
622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It
578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's
loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original
[428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder
brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These
[671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference
of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested
[648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does
not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well
as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical — which might lead one to observe that
the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" — the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
182 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in character-
istic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community
105 is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well
be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Ma- 177
puche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on 182
whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies 648
from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will 105
disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several gen- 177
erations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional 105
Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those [191]
rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that
is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian.
Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacri- [782]
ficial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and
liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional
altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type [342]
houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and [556]
the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space,
serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domi-
cile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* [291]
and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume
which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation.
Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen
homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and
various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who
rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because [292]
it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in com-
plete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or
when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which [182]
are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are sym-
bolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing [186]
chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agri- [241]
cultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche
and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose
social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes
in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastruc-
tural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than
culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Arauca- 177
nians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few genera- 182
tions, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 114
105

177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his in-
105 termediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under
various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate
many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals,
rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social struc-
ture. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did
research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities
by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
423 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have
disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost
their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights
to land.

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[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:63, 73).

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and 648
again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, 182
to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet 105
happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new
symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the
reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration,
and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation
social structure. 105

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace 177
with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean 623
government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup 182
are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically 622
with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter 618
group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did,
and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide
the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship
affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional
rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties
and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and
more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage. 105

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function 177
as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which 621
rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a 618
localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of
ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential [794]
kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of
moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to
homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the [476]
area of greatest social change—the economy—and cooperative ventures
are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building
and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches,
schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche [182]
society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes"
in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished
from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter,
distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and
those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community
effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group [571]
membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached
person should be kept clearly in mind.

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. [648] [622] [793] Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. [592] [613] Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[195] [2] It might be argued that 1886 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

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	HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
[1] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M[a]	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C[b]	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	58	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34		

[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

1 A [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

133 Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

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HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(6)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	5C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	15	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
36	46	(19)	82	181	234	93	27	80	11	17		71		

[Reservation
Huilcan]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100		

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile 131
between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, 161
an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and
have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region 361
in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in [101]
terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche
reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and
cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area,
they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated
on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche
occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning 17
indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive 648
culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has re- [101]
volved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the
dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure
exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have
lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the
Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization
was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory,
raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized
on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In 177
spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have 182
maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity.
These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to
disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society
into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation
times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent 17
efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law
•648 to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their
traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based
[613] matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
182 able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Ma-
[121] puche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding 121
of the place and nature of religious beliefs and 128
ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is 121
appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life 177
and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain 433
segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere
of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the 648
reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, 433
but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. 311
In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and [161]
the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural
resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions [648]
on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system
impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some
reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The [796]
greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed [794]
toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent 241
with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 177
178

241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of
the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization
of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other
crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in
plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche
strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most
food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
•648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to
lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

496 *Labor Organization*

622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
464

476 427 .648 While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 464 602 [613] *Mingaco* is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

423 [428] [648] Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

munity according to their number and the estimated produc- 423
tivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the 648
immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in 167
Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has 177
engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many 464
Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate 167
in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reserva- 423
tion is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty 428
holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community.
Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the [602]
contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this 59
is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation
community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may 591
be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater
structural significance than the finer variations within the
patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend
almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation
system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an [178]
infrequently encountered living arrangement, although
patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an [829]
infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine
whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation.
It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his
own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to 591
her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able 736
to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her 602
small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the
one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a [613]
member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to
his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that 587
such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which 591
brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If
they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on
their husbands's reservation and established a new household
with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of
widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does [583]
not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid
for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well 562
as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, 591
at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to 423
women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women
born after registration). While these rights cannot always be [648]
validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned
Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on
their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given
de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 •648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies. 621 648

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marraige; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation. 121 648

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society 121 128

burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays 683
they are simply driven from the community, since the people [178]
fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one [648]
litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume 776
are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals,
and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They [774]
contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and 776
forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there 825
are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *killkill*, *huelen*, 825
wuthwuth, *juree*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds 787
of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregil*, and

756 *machi*. The latter[2] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role,
the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial
incantation is made to insure success. The machi is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows
so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the
wekufe are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is
delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The
young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see
a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea
did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain
would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
• [648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[199] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have
worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
789 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions
are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not
already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the
machi. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth,
all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the
following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering
after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground,
evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock,
and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned
already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and
hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree,
having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these
dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person
becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic
curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken
lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without
good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will
clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This
is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[2] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

121 182 754

strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

754 829 648

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche ~~do~~ not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado.* Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

754

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this 754
feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Mali- 578
ciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages 571
the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to 754
shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. 736
However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His 735
wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's 554
benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his 556
service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than
they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being [683]
evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear [648]
of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.

621 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly
578 integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. 101 103 Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the [613] original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation 181 is great, if not always complete. 182 The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. 794 The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, [648] the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

771 182 121 THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

121 771 177 178 [648] The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

121 177 178 In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

121 177 178 action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply reforecast, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their ramifying system of religious morality continues to shore up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[648] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect in

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[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, 121
and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of 177
rather precise ways of measuring could be applied. 178

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner 771
consistent with other changes in social structure. This says 178
nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes 177
if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. 178
Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 648
1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884.
It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the [241]
main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances [726]
(by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already 000

Araucanians SG-4

622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern
Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they
killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what
casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this
cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or
avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only
strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking
man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not
belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded
sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed;
though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined
courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of
handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was
generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked
for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness
was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together
with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him
T greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke
622 that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the
623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two
camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass.
After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was
resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command
of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young
guanaco season, all present, together with those expected
from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a
place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to
unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had
T already communicated with us, and had promised to forward
• A my letters, *vid* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Patagonia
and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been
previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been
already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene
of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the
scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873

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T A. 648

left for dead on the field. On the same occasion Orkeke was taken prisoner, but, although mutilated, succeeded eventually in effecting his escape. Casimiro's father also became a prisoner in an unsuccessful assault on an Araucanian stronghold. After two or three years' captivity he succeeded, with two of his comrades, in escaping, and while hurrying to rejoin the Tehuelches in the vicinity of Geylum, met with a solitary Araucanian. He seeing a fire, approached unsuspicious of danger, and was welcomed and invited to smoke; they then seized him, stripped and bound him hand and foot, and left him lying on the pampa, a helpless prey to the condors and pumas. The two fugitives, having thus gratified their desire for vengeance, succeeded in rejoining their own people, and organised an attack on the Araucanos, in which Casimiro's father was killed. Some wonderful feats of valour were described to me as having been achieved by the Tehuelches; but in fact the Manzaneros proved themselves the superior warriors, and even at the time of our visit to them had Tehuelche slaves. The powerful cacique Lenquetrou succeeded in healing the old feuds, and united all the Indians under his leadership. He was treacherously killed by an Argentine officer at Bahia Blanca during the peace between the Indians and the Christians, and after his death the old quarrels broke out afresh. Casimiro's diplomacy, however, succeeded during the time of my visit in conciliating all parties, and the result appeared in the amicable arrangements concluded at the parlemento, and afterwards successfully carried out. Had it not been for this, my journey to Las Manzanas, and thence to the Rio Negro, would have been dangerous, if not altogether impossible.

T 648

Two days after the arrival of the Northern party the Indians from the Chupat came in, and were duly welcomed by our united forces, the ceremonial on this occasion presenting a very animated scene. They number between seventy and eighty men, with women and children, occupying about twenty toldos. Most of them were young men of

Araucanians 5G4

and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had T 136 been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with T in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged 133 from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and scrub, and after refreshing ourselves at a rivulet, travelled westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which the hills fell gradually down to the plains, and beyond it, turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far extremity of which we observed with great contentment the answering smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians. On the south-west edge of this valley the high beetling cliff obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however, showed out between the hills shutting in the valley we had traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In T front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which [136] numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians, 10 ten in number. T

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of 648 some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then proceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos. All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty-seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

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233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

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224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

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on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the 482
march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving [251]
bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left
them a couple of mares, from which part of their present A
stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with 231
reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

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The day following our arrival a council was held, and an 648
interchange of presents took place. Here I made the A
acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented 622
him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

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Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which 202
we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were
handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* A
people, but owing to those sent by me for England being [822
written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians 721]
considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named 000

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* Also called Poyel.

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Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

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After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

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The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

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By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

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The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

T 133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

A 527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Diplaik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian toldos, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being A T 648 erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calficura, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

T A 648 ●

During our stay (until the 28th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telck, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaitu, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north- 000

T [136]

T A [526]

Araucanians SG4

the hunting party, but overtook the people who had arrived with the grog, returning with their remaining mantles, horses, colts, &c., and loudly abusing the Tehuelches for a set of thieving rascals. One of this party was a Valdivian boy who spoke fluent Spanish, and invited me to accompany him to Los Llanos, whither he now intended returning. He stated that in seven or eight days he hoped to reach his destination, and that from thence to the port of Valdivia was but a day and a half's journey. On arriving at the next encampment I bade adieu to these people, who continued their march farther to the north, not liking to trust their property again in the neighbourhood of our camp.

T 133 Only halting for the night, we resumed our journey shortly after daylight, mounting a rather steep ascent to a high plateau strewn with sharp stones and crossed by ridges of rocks at intervals.

Ostriches and guanaco were numerous, and although chasing them almost involved the certainty of laming one's horse, many were killed. In this hunt a male guanaco came racing towards me from the Indians on the western side of the circle, and on my galloping to intercept him, he turned and descended a ridge of rocks. I was about to throw the bolas, being within distance, when he suddenly tripped, and, falling on his head, lay stunned at the bottom of the cliff, where I soon despatched him with my knife.

T 133 These barren pampas terminated suddenly in a line of cliffs, gradually but steeply shelving in some places, and in others presenting a perpendicular descent of 200 feet; at the base lay a large plain watered by a brook, and enclosed on the southern, eastern, and partially on the western sides by these cliffs, while the northern and north-western boundary was formed by hills rising in gentle slopes. In about the centre T A 648
of this plain, close to the brook side, were to be distinguished the toldos of Foyel, to which the women were wending their way, having descended by a ravine to the east, while some distance to the north-east on the upper plains were to be distin-

guished the hunting fires of the proprietors of the toldos. In due course of time we arrived, but as the hunting party did not return till late, we saw nothing of Foyel's people that evening, though letters were exchanged between the chiefs, felicitating each other on the meeting, and appointing next day for the ceremony of welcome.

The following morning, however, day broke with a furious south-west gale, with passing squalls of snow and sleet, and so bitterly cold and miserable that Foyel sent a note to state that, 'as the day was rather frozen,' perhaps it would be better to postpone the ceremony till finer weather, inasmuch as after it a parlemento would have to be held to consider matters in general. Casimiro answered, through me, that he was of the same opinion, but would do himself the honour of paying a personal visit. Presently we sallied out in the storm, taking the presents and the necessary number of women to cry, and proceeded to Foyel's toldo, where we handed over the gifts, the women melodiously howling during the operation. A short parley then ensued between the two caciques, neither of whom, be it remembered, could understand the language of the other. After this ceremonial was concluded, which took place outside the toldo during a blinding, snowstorm, we returned to our home, and shortly after the day cleared up a little, and Foyel's people were visible bringing up cattle and sheep from distant parts of the valley, to which they had been driven to seek shelter from the storm. Some headed in our direction, and were driven close to the toldo, over which the Buenos Ayrean colours proudly waved to designate the dwelling of the chief. Foyel then arrived, and had an interview with Casimiro, presenting him with cattle which were lazoed by some of the Valdivian Indians, and a light-haired man dressed in Christian clothes, but with rather a wild appearance. My first idea was that he was either Scotch or English, but as he approached me whilst despatching one of the cows, I asked him in Spanish where he came from, and whether he was not English; he

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T A. 648

answered that he was from Chili, but had lived nearly all his life in Valdivia working cattle, and had for the last two years been in company with the Valdivians catching cattle in the Cordillera, and making his head-quarters at Foyel's camp. His name was Ventura Delgado, and he had visited Patagones the previous year in company with the secretary, Antonio Guaitu, who took an application for rations for Foyel. As we were both busy, we arranged to meet and have a talk later in the day. A good deal of eating took place in the forenoon, and to escape the crowd, and also the persecution of having continually to write some nonsensical message from Casimiro to Foyel, who about every half hour used to interchange written messages, although the toldos were not above two hundred yards apart, I quitted the chief's quarters for a stroll. While roaming about the camp looking for the toldo in which my new Valdivian acquaintance put up, I was called into another, where Casimiro's aunt, one of our domestic circle, and my 'companion of the pipe,' was sitting by the fire drinking grog, in which she invited me to assist her; nothing loth, I sat down, and we had two or three cheerers together, after which the owner of the toldo, a brother-in-law of Foyel's, a Pampa Indian, arrived. He spoke fluent Spanish, having formerly been for a considerable time near the settlements, and was an intellectual, fine-looking man; he was very civil, and escorted me to Foyel's toldo, where I spent the afternoon in company with Antonio Guaitu and Ventura Delgado, the Valdivian.

On March 8, the day being fine and suitable for the ceremony of welcome, Casimiro gave orders at an early hour for all to mount and hold themselves in readiness to go through the necessary evolutions. About an hour after the orders had been given, most of the Patagonians were mounted and ready, so all proceeded to the part of the valley where the united Araucanian Indians, under Quintuhual and Foyel, were already formed in line, lances in hand, waiting for our motley crowd, who gave considerable trouble to the chiefs,

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owing to their loose ideas of formation: the caciques and adjutant no sooner had got one part of the line into something like order, than the people at the other extremity would break up into knots and converse or smoke. Foyel sent several messages to Casimiro to keep his line properly formed, and at length the Tehuelches were arrayed in something like order and the ceremony commenced. After it was concluded, a great parlemento was held, which lasted until the afternoon; all the previous resolutions were confirmed, viz., that Casimiro should be recognised the chief of the South, his jurisdiction extending over all Indians south of the Rio Limay; that with his people he should guarantee the safety of Patagones, and hold in check the Pampa Indians of Las Salinas, under the chief Calficura, in the improbable event of his endeavouring to cross the Rio Limay for the purpose of making raids into the settlements; 2ndly, that we should, all united, march to Las Manzanas to visit Cheoeque, and propose to him to guarantee with his forces the safety of the north bank of the river, which would effectually bridle Calficura and secure Patagones. After the parlemento I proceeded to visit Foyel, and was received by him with every expression of friendship and regard. During the course of our interview he asked me to show him my compass, the fame of which had gone before it. I at once took it off my neck, where I was in the habit of carrying it, and endeavoured to explain its uses to him. Unlike the other Indians, although at first regarding it rather with superstitious awe, Foyel soon understood its uses, though he also hinted that it might not only be useful for finding the way at night, but perhaps would bring luck at play as well. I accordingly begged him to accept it, which, after a little demur, he did with evident delight, wrapping it carefully up and giving it in charge of his daughter.

He then commenced a conversation on the subject of Indians and their relations with white people. He stated that he was in favour of friendly intercourse both with the

T A 648

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

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The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not 574
drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he TA
related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene 721
of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in
which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola
perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the
battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined ~~000~~
in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples
and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter,
a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair,
which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive
Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended
to any menial labour, though she occasionally
busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of
about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her
of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time
of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress T
and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, [573]
having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen
no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on
foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property
being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual
who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

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Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to 648
Chocoque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence
that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2,
and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message
was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of
taking our chief's message to Chocoque, but owing to one of
my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred
going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was
therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he
alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by
myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts
of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally
civilised appearance of these Indians.

united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Cheoeque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *mêlée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Cheoeque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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T A 648

were placed under a guard of Tehuelches for a short time until the party started to find the wounded men. We then all proceeded a short distance down the valley, and bivouacked in the pampa grass about a mile and a half from, but out of sight of, the toldos of Cheoeque. Messengers passed two or three times between the latter's residence and our bivouac, and ultimately a very old woman came over and made a long oration on the benefits of peace. This was all very well, but as both parties were evidently suspicious of each other, a watch was kept in the event of a surprise; and as we thought it probable that the negotiations would fall through, we spent the night shivering round the fires and making bolas perdidas. I assured Quintuhual and Casimiro that there would be no fight, at which the latter grew very irate, saying he knew better, that the whole business was a trap to obtain the gear and firearms of our party, also stating that I did not understand these Indians, in which I differed from him. Later in the evening news came that, although fearfully cut about, none of 'my cousins' were dead; the opposite party, however, had fared worse, losing three killed outright. For six men to fight against twenty-five seems long odds, but I believe that Quintuhual's and Foyel's people are the bravest Indians to be met with in the southern part of America, fully deserving the proud title of 'the Warrior Indians.'

T A 648 A 541

The following morning at daylight all mounted their best horses, and forming into column of six, proceeded, with the lancers of the warriors at our head, towards the toldos situated in a valley running at right angles to the one we had rested in on the previous night. On arriving in sight of Cheoeque's ancestral halls, we observed the Araucanians or Manzaneros forming into line and manœuvring about half a mile distant; we approached to within 800 yards, and then forming into open line to display our whole force (my proposal of hiding a reserve behind an eminence having been overruled), awaited the course of events. Thus we remained

T A • 648 ● A 541

about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

T A 648

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

T A [576] A [291]

T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calficura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Cheoeque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

A 567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt our colloquy.

A 439 137 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of Cheoeque's toldos, where animals were lazoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been cheated by the Picunche thieves.

T A 439 Towards evening Cheoeque sent over to say that, as it

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more
robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals;
that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by
right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his
allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large
rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he
never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the
Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians
had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct,
which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far
as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested,
although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather,
as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which
during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.

133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would
have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous
windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their
animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio
Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians
stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he
was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and
drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return
journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near
the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing
to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the
route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro
and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it
was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that 000 if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period. T A

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, 439 a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I A noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manza- 231 neros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting. T A

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous 648 chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to A keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made [194 in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely re- 537] sembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

648 had been forwarded to us already. Many speeches were made, and Linares and Casimiro pointed out that it was to the cacique's interest not to interfere, as he would inevitably lose the valuable supplies of horses and cattle given him by the Buenos Ayrean Government, and that it was more profitable to receive the annual rations than plunder and break up the Rio Negro settlements. Finally, it was unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to Calficura, desiring him to confine his hostilities to Bahia Blanca, and that Cheoeque should protect the north bank of the Rio Negro and guard Patagones on that side, while Casimiro guaranteed the southern, which arrangement was duly adhered to on both sides. Accordingly Calficura revenged his real or supposed injuries on the 'Cristianos' by two destructive inroads into Bahia Blanca, carrying off plunder and captives. But letters from the Rio Negro have informed me that peace had been restored, and an exchange or ransom of prisoners effected. This will be more fully dwelt upon, but it is mentioned here in order to show that the Indians are fully aware of the advantages of peace, though they are undoubtedly—the Araucanians especially—jealous of the encroachments of foreigners, and the traditions of their past history have caused them to hold the very name of Spaniard or 'Cristiano' in abhorrence. It is also difficult for the superior caciques in all cases to restrain the petty caciquillos from small depredations; but a fair and well-arranged system of 'rations' will prevent them from making forays, and it is much to be regretted that the well-intentioned and liberal plans of the Buenos Ayrean Government for the protection of the frontiers are too often thwarted by the unscrupulous agents who enrich themselves by appropriating the supplies intended for the Indians. Some may consider the method of keeping the chiefs quiet by pensions undignified; but it is certainly a more humane and economical policy than continual wars of reprisals, which in the end would lead to the extermination either of the Indians or

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain im- 648
poverishing of the country.

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After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by 574
Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. 264
Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots 415
were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and 262
horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while
Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a A
chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat- [291
skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his 411]
hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive
dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too [861]
near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

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I was very much struck with the obedience and respect 622
evinced by these people towards their cacique. His autho- 554
rity extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of 600
Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a T
Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river. A.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be de- 175
scribed in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of 648
Patagones as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873

SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Araucanians SG4

T A 175 648 Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

T A 175 133 From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175 The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

The San André people, like those at Rincon Barrancas, 000 had been struggling against ill-fortune for two seasons; the last season their harvest was a fair one, but unfortunately they delayed thrashing-out for a long time, waiting for a thrashing machine from England, which, when it did arrive, would not work properly, and made it necessary for them ultimately to resort to the native fashion of treading out with mares; bad weather ensued, and a considerable portion of the grain was spoiled: such are the woes of Rio Negro farmers, especially improving ones. During my visit the daily routine of tilling, marking cattle, bringing up the horses, &c., was carried on; but we found time to visit the next estancia, owned by a Swiss gentleman residing in Buenos Ayres, and managed in his absence by a Swiss countryman, known by the name of Don Juan. Here, as sheep at the present time hardly paid the cost of shearing, an experiment was being made of curing mutton-hams for exportation to Buenos Ayres, and a large number had been already cured and were ready for shipment; but the result of the experiment is unknown to me, and the ingenious Don Juan has since died.

During my stay at San André and Rincon Barrancas I 648 picked up a good deal of information regarding the relations of the Indians with the colonists, which perhaps may not be uninteresting to the reader. All the settlements and guardias previously described are situated on the north bank of the river, the south side being almost entirely, as far as this point, in the hands of the Tame and other Indians. The Indian parties who are most feared are the Araucanos, under the chief Rouque, and the Pampas of Calficura, who has his head-quarters at the Salinas near Bahia Blanca, while the former ranges from the neighbourhood of Choelechel to the Cordillera. I should be inclined to think that Rouque is a subordinate chief under Cheoeque, though I am not certain of the fact, as the latter chief, during my visit to Las Manzanas, mentioned Rouque as being with his people in the apple and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 648 pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Rouque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzanas. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifaccio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Rouque, the policy of the authorities being to keep him and Cheoeque from joining Calficura in the threatened raid on the frontier. A 721 The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration* of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calficura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calficura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captives women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may partially be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Rouque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other. ⊤ A 721

One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

T A 726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. T A 648 The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

T A 177 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

000 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or and among them that which received his name of Valdivia. 000 He performed very grand achievements in the conquest of that kingdom. He governed with great prudence and judgment, and with the prospect of much prosperity for himself and his people, if the fierce ardour of an Indian had not broken all by cutting the thread of his life. As the death of this Governor and Captain-General was one of the most famous and notable deeds that had been done by the Indians throughout the whole empire of the Yncas since the Spaniards arrived, and one the most to be deplored, I propose to set down here what actually happened, in order that the first and second report of this ill-fated battle, which arrived in Peru, may be known; but to make the story intelligible, it will be necessary to describe the origin and commencement of the events which led to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

REBELLION IN CHILE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR VALDIVIA.

When the kingdom of Chile was divided after the conquest, 648● there fell to the share of this knight, who was worthy of empires, a very rich *repartimiento*, containing much gold and many vassals, and yielding an annual tribute of one hundred thousand *pesos de oro*.[1] As the thirst for this metal is insatiable, it increased in proportion to the quantity given by the Indians. These Indians were not accustomed to the labour necessary for obtaining the gold, and they could not

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[1] Valdivia subjugated the *Promaucaes*, who had succeeded in repulsing the invasion of the Yncas, as well as their allies, the *Cauquenes* and *Pencones*, mentioned by Garcilasso in chapter xix. He crossed the Maule, defeated the *Araucos* and other warlike tribes, in every encounter, and overran their country. He then founded seven Chilian cities, Coquimbo, Santiago, Angel, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago.

648 endure the annoyance they were subjected to with respect to it. At last, the Indians of Araucu, who were those granted to Valdivia, and others allied with them, resolved to rebel. They began by offending the Spaniards by their great insolence.[1] The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, when he knew this, came forth to chastise them with one hundred and fifty cavalry, despising the Indians to an extent never before shown by the Spaniards when similar revolts had taken place. This pride was the cause of many deaths, as well as that of Pedro de Valdivia and his followers, at the hands of those whom they had despised.[2]

The first news of his death that came to Peru, was brought to the city of La Plata by an Indian of Chile, written on a paper two fingers' lengths in width, without signature or date of time or place. It was said that Pedro de Valdivia and the one hundred and fifty lances who were with him, had been swallowed by the earth. The tidings of these words, with the news that they had been brought by an Indian of Chile, spread over Peru, to the great dismay of the Spaniards, who could not understand what this swallowing of the earth could mean; for they were unable to believe that there was force in the Indians to kill one hundred and fifty mounted Spaniards, such a thing never having happened up to that time. They said (because that kingdom, equally with Peru, is mountainous and full of deep gorges and ravines, and a region subject to earthquakes) that the truth probably was that these Spaniards, travelling along

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[1] They tortured and killed two Spanish soldiers without apparent cause. They then rose in arms, and their chiefs met in council to concert measures for driving the Spaniards out of the country. Ercilla enumerates and describes the chiefs in a magnificent passage.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

[2] Valdivia, at the time of the rising, was at Penco, where, says Ercilla, there were rich mines of fine gold. He seems to have carelessly underrated the danger, and to have delayed taking the necessary steps, while he got in his tribute from the gold mines.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871

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some deep gorge, must have been crushed by a piece of 648 rock; and this version was received by all. For, judging by all former experience of the power of the Indians, it could not be credited that the Spaniards had fallen in battle. While the people in Peru were thus confused, some further tidings arrived after sixty days, with a full account of the death of Valdivia and his men, and of the last battle he fought with the Indians. I will quote from the news as it was then brought from Chile. Having mentioned the rising of the Indians and their insolent conduct, the account continued as follows:—

"When Valdivia arrived where the rebel Araucos were, 726 he found twelve or thirteen thousand of them, with whom he had several desperate encounters, in which the Spaniards were always victorious; and the Indians were so disheartened by the charges of the cavalry that they would not come out in the open plain, for ten horsemen would scatter a thousand Indians. They remained in the hills and woods, where the horses could not master them, and thence they did all the mischief they could, refusing to listen to any terms that were offered to them, and obstinate in their determination to die rather than be servants of the Spaniards. Thus the two sides remained for many days. These evil tidings spread each day into the interior of the Arauco country, until they were told to an old captain who had been famous in their wars, but was now retired to his own home.[1] He came out to see what wonder was this, that one hundred and fifty men could hold in check twelve or thirteen thousand warriors. This he was unable to believe, if these Spaniards were not devils or immortals, which the Indians thought at first. In order to undeceive himself on these points, he desired to join the war, and see what passed with his own eyes. He reached the top of a hill, whence he had a view of both

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[1] The story is not told in this way by Ercilla; but the old chief of the tale appears to have been the Caupolican of the *Araucana*.

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the churches, making a great destruction of images of saints, and breaking them to pieces with sacrilegious hands. Ten days after this event the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived at the port of the city with a reinforcement of three hundred men, which his Excellency had sent from Peru to succour those cities. He lost there a son and a daughter, young children, whom he had left in charge of his sister-in-law, and who had been taken in this attack with the rest. As soon as he beheld the lamentable destruction of the city, he disembarked his people with great bravery, to go in aid of the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and the ill-fated Imperial, of which nothing was known save that a year before it had been surrounded by the enemy. It was reported that all were dead of hunger, having eaten the dead horses, and afterwards the dogs, cats, and skins of animals. This news was obtained from a messenger who was sent down the river by those in the city, praying for help, with mournful complaints from those unhappy people. After the said colonel had disembarked, he determined first to relieve the city of Osorno, because he knew that the enemy, after assaulting the city of Valdivia, would march to the city of Osorno to treat it in the same manner. The colonel gave assistance to Osorno, and did other good service. At the hour that I write this, news has arrived that the people of Imperial all perished of hunger, after a siege which lasted a year. Twenty men only escaped, whose fate was more hard than that of their dead companions, for, driven by hunger, they passed over to the side of the Indians. In Angol they killed four soldiers, but it is not known who they were. Our Lord have mercy upon us. Amen."

"Santiago de Chile, March 1600."

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All the above intelligence arrived in Peru from the kingdom of Chile, and caused great sorrow throughout the country. Besides which, the Father Diego de Alco-

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basa,[1] whom I have already mentioned, in a letter which he wrote to me in the year 1601, among other things which he told me concerning that empire, uses these words touching the kingdom of Chile:—

"Chile is in very evil case, and the Indians are so expert and experienced in war, that there is not one who has not got a lance and a horse, and is not ready to attack any Spanish soldier, how valiant soever he may be. Every year troops are sent there from Peru; and many go, but none ever return. The Indians have taken two towns inhabited by Spaniards, and have killed all they found, carrying off the poor women and children, after first killing their fathers

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[1] Diego de Alcobasa was a half-caste, born at Cuzco. His father Juan de Alcobasa, married an Indian girl, and he had an estate called Surihualla, on the site of the Ynca's aviary, a league south of Cuzco. He was a great friend of the elder Garcilasso de la Vega, and brought up his son, the young Ynca, who was born in the same house with Diego. They were afterwards schoolfellows together at Cuzco. Juan de Alcobasa was a quiet, peaceable man, of blameless life, and took care of the family of the warlike Garcilasso, while he was engaged in civil wars. On one occasion, when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Cuzco and Garcilasso was of the opposite faction, the two Alcobasas, with the young Ynca Garcilasso and his mother and sister, were blockaded in a house, and well-nigh starved. In 1560 the Ynca Garcilasso went to Spain, and his old schoolfellow Diego de Alcobasa afterwards became a Jesuit priest and was actively engaged in preaching to the Indians, in which work he had great success, owing to his knowledge of the native languages. But the schoolfellows never forgot their old friendship, and constantly corresponded. When the Ynca undertook his great work, Diego de Alcobasa sent him much valuable information. Doubtless we often unconsciously owe thanks to him for important facts, though the Ynca only occasionally remembers to mention his indebtedness. The account of the Tiahuanaco ruins was obtained from Alcobasa (vol. i, p. 211), as well as the news from Chile given above. Early in 1603 Alcobasa also sent his old friend a *Confessionario*, which he had prepared and printed at Lima in 1585, in Spanish, in the language of the Yncas (called Quichua), and in the language of the Collas (improperly called Aymara). Garcilasso criticises it in his second part. See I, lib. v, cap. 10; Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 23; and Pte. II, lib. v, cap. 10. The *Confessionario* of Alcobasa is very scarce. I have never seen a copy, nor had Von Tschudi. *Kechua Sprache*, i, p. 23.

2Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871

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and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Ynca,[1] who came forth from Villcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living." 648 726

Thus far is from the letter of Father Alcobasa, besides other sad news that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven ducats, and maize at thirteen. 000

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Granada, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Sacred College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:— 114

"OF THE REBELLION OF THE ARAUCOS.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angel, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the faith 648 726

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[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Ynca Manco, by Ñusta Cusi Huarcay, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is a picture of the bride and bridegroom in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed in an ambuscade by the Araucanians, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess, named Lorenza, was created Marchioness of Oropesa, and married Don Juan Henriquez de Borja, of the House of Gandia.

615 and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was,
726 that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater havock and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and deceitful artifices, and surrounded the city of Osorno. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continuously besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and nuns to carry them off as captives. But, being covetous over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and nuns, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villarica, when many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women,
[727] who were numerous and very well connected. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the good Ynca Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.